

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
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R 141456Z MAY 77
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2134
INFO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0231

EXDIS

DEPT PASS SECDEF WASHDC, USNMR SHAPE, USCINCEUR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJ: GERMAN DATA PROPOSAL, NATO PUBLICATION ASPECT

REF: BONN 8308

1. WE NOTE IN REFTEL THAT WORKING LEVEL FRG OFFICIALS
ARE HAVING SECOND THOUGHTS CONCERNING THE PROJECT OF
NATO'S PUBLISHING NATIONAL TOTALS IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR
NEW DATA PROPOSAL.

2. SINCE THE PUBLICATION PROJECT WAS AN INTEGRAL PART OF
THE PROPOSAL FRG FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER MADE TO THE
SECRETARY DURING THE LONDON SUMMIT CONCERNING TREATMENT
OF DATA, IT ALSO FORMS PART OF THE BASIS ON WHICH THE
SECRETARY AGREED TO CONSIDER THE FRG PROPOSAL.

3. THE ENTIRE FRG ALTERNATIVE TO TABLING OF NATIONAL
TOTALS IS CUMBERSOME AND CONTRIVED. IT IS CERTAIN
THAT THE EAST'S INITIAL REACTION TO IT WILL BE NEGATIVE,
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AND IT IS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER THE EAST WILL ACCEPT THIS
PROPOSAL EVEN AFTER LONG ARGUMENTATION.

4. THE TWO ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL ASPECTS OF THE FRG
CONCEPT ARE THAT MAJOR UNITS BE NATIONALLY DESIGNATED AND
THAT REMAINING FORCES BE BROKEN DOWN INTO NATIONALLY
DESIGNATED COMPONENTS. WITHOUT BOTH THESE POINTS, THE

FRG CONCEPT HAS NO RPT NO CHANCE OF ACCEPTANCE. BUT NATO PUBLICATION OF NATIONAL TOTALS PLUS ABILITY OF WESTERN NEGOTIATORS TO CONFIRM THOSE TOTALS AS ACCURATE IS THE MOST IMPORTANT SUPPLEMENTARY STEP WHICH CAN BE TAKEN TO INCREASE THE CHANCES OF EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE GERMAN PROPOSAL.

5. PUBLICATION WOULD ENABLE WESTERN NEGOTIATORS TO PRESENT THE GERMAN PROPOSAL AS THE NEXT LOGICAL STEP BEYOND A PHASE OF NATIONAL DATA INSTEAD OF AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO TABLING OF NATIONAL DATA.

6. THIS DIFFERENCE COULD BE DECISIVE IN OBTAINING EASTERN ACCEPTANCE. THE EAST'S INITIAL REACTION WILL IN ANY EVENT BE NEGATIVE. PRIOR PUBLICATION OF WESTERN NATIONAL FIGURES WOULD AVOID FOCUSING THE ENSUING EAST/WEST DEBATE IN VIENNA ON THE TOPIC OF WHETHER OR NOT NATIONAL DATA SHOULD BE TABLED AS A NECESSARY NEXT STEP IN DATA DISCUSSION.

7. PRIOR PUBLICATION WOULD ELIMINATE THE EAST'S CAPACITY TO USE THE ARGUMENT AGAINST THE GERMAN PROPOSAL THAT THE GERMAN PROPOSAL CANNOT BE CONSIDERED OR ACTED ON UNTIL AFTER NATIONAL DATA HAS BEEN TABLED. INSTEAD, THE EAST WOULD BE RESTRICTED TO THE NARROW ARGUMENT THAT WESTERN NATIONAL DATA MUST BE FORMALLY TABLED IN VIENNA, A POINT WHICH WESTERN NEGOTIATORS CAN MORE READILY COUNTER.

8. WE EXPECT CONSIDERABLE INTERNAL DEBATE AMONG SOVIET OFFICIALS IN VIENNA AND IN MOSCOW AS TO THE DEFINITIVE
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EASTERN REACTION TO A WESTERN PROPOSAL ON LINES OF THE GERMAN CONCEPT. WE EXPECT THE SOVIET MILITARY TO TAKE THE VIEW THAT IT DOES NOT WISH TO DIVULGE THE INFORMATION CALLED FOR UNDER THE GERMAN PROPOSAL. IF THE WEST HAS ALREADY PUBLISHED NATIONAL DATA, THE SOVIET MILITARY CANNOT MAKE PRESENTATION OF THAT DATA A PRECONDITION FOR THEIR AGREEMENT THAT THE WARSAW PACT SHOULD TABLE THE FIGURES CALLED FOR. IF THE WEST HAS PUBLISHED, BUT CONTRA ELEMENTS STILL CARRY THE DAY IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE EAST REFUSES TO CONTINUE THE DATA DISCUSSION, THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR BLOCKING THE FURTHER COURSE OF THE DATA DISCUSSION WILL CLEARLY BE WITH THE EAST.

9. BUT IF PUBLICATION IS NOT MADE AND THE EAST REJECTS THE FRG PROPOSAL, WEST WILL BE IN THE INDEFENSIBLE SITUATION OF SEEKING TO JUSTIFYING ITS POSITION TO THE WESTERN PUBLIC WITH THE ARGUMENT THAT IT HAS OFFERED TO TABLED ALL THE INFORMATION THE EAST NEEDS TO COMPUTE NATIONAL TOTALS, BUT THAT IT CANNOT TABLE NATIONAL TOTALS AS SUCH.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED ABOVE ADDRESSEE.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0231

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10. IF PUBLICATION HAS BEEN MADE AND WESTERN NEGOTIATORS CAN PRESENT A WESTERN PROPOSAL ALONG THE LINES OF THE GERMAN CONCEPT AS A LOGICAL NEXT STEP BEYOND THE STAGE OF NATIONAL TOTALS, THEN THIS OF ITSELF WOULD PROVIDE A RATIONALE FOR THE GERMAN PROPOSAL AND UNDERMINE ANTICIPATED EASTERN OBJECTIONS THAT, INSTEAD OF TAKING THE LOGICAL NEXT STEP OF TABLING NATIONAL DATA, THE WEST IS ENGAGED IN FISHING FOR INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION.

11. AS REGARDS THE PRACTICAL ASPECTS RAISED BY RUECKRIEGEL IN REFTTEL, THE DRAFT TEXT SUGGESTED BY THE DELEGATION IN MBFR 219 SHOWS THAT IT IS QUITE FEASIBLE TO OMIT FROM A NATO PUBLICATION DATA ON FRENCH, GREEK AND TURKISH FORCES AND STILL HAVE A PUBLICATION NOT DIRECTLY CONNECTED WITH MBFR. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE BELGIANS ALONE WOULD BLOCK PUBLICATION. NATURALLY, THE PUBLICATION PROJECT HAS AN ARTIFICIAL CHARACTER. BUT SO HAS THE ENTIRE EXERCISE OF AVOIDING TABLING NATIONAL TOTALS.

12. IN THE CONTEXT OF INTRA-ALLIANCE RELATIONS, IT IS IN
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THE MUTUAL INTEREST BOTH OF THE GERMANS AND OF THOSE ALLIES WHO
FAVOR DIRECT TABLING OF NATIONAL TOTALS TO MAKE THE GERMAN
PROPOSAL ACCEPTABLE TO THE EAST, BECAUSE IF IT FAILS,
IT WILL THEN BE NECESSARY TO PERSUADE THE GERMANS TO TABLE
NATIONAL TOTALS.

13. IT IS IMPORTANT TO PERSEVERE WITH THE PUBLICATION
PROJECT.RESOR

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